

History of the Kronheim/Daniel Family from 1855 – 1942

by Miriam Wally Daniel, May 14, 2017

This story begins with Louis Kronheim, born in 1855 in Samotschin, Prussia, in the Province of Posen, the father of Wally Daniel, the grandfather of Gerard Daniel and the great grandfather of Miriam and Ralph Daniel, and ends in 1941 when Louis's daughter, Wally Daniel, died in Lodz, Poland.¹



Louis Kronheim with his daughters,
Wally Daniel and Ella Mislowitzer (1906)



Wally Daniel at age 18

We know very little about Louis's early life. He lived in Prussia where he was well known and respected. He was appointed Kommissionsrat (honorary title) to the Kaiser in 1914. He flourished as a real estate broker, often representing the Junkers, members of the Prussian aristocracy that controlled most of the land, in the purchase and sale of their real estate. At times he purchased parcels of land for resale.

He was a great German patriot and also an observant Jew,² insisting on following a kosher diet even when he dined with the Prussian aristocracy, where he was often invited. His stature in the Jewish community was illustrated by the imposing black granite gravestone at his gravesite. It towered over the surrounding gravestones in the Jewish cemetery of Schneidemuhl, where he

¹ Appreciation to my son David Wolff who inserted the photographs into the text and prepared their captions.

² Gerard Daniel, Louis Kronheim's grandson, remembers Louis Kronheim giving him a kippah made of many small pieces of fabrics in many colors and telling him the biblical story of Joseph and the multicolored coat given to Joseph by his father.

lived part of his life and was buried. The inscription was in Hebrew and was a prime example of an epitaph with an elaborately rhymed text, embodying an acrostic.³



Gravestone of Louis Kronheim, 1935

Many years after the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, the Council of Schneidemuhl erected an imposing memorial to those who had died in the war. But they left off the name of Sally Cohn, a highly decorated Jew in the war, allegedly for anti Semitic reasons. Louis Kronheim took it upon himself to have a new memorial erected in honor of all of the war dead from the Austro-Prussian war. The unveiling of the imposing new memorial took place in June of 1903, attended by all who had standing in the community, many in full military regalia. The new memorial featured medallions of Bismarck and Moltke on the two sides, and a large plaque on the back which paid tribute to the 85 men from the regiment from Schneidemuhl who had died in the war, but now first and foremost was the name of the Jewish second lieutenant, Sally Cohn.⁴

As early as 1896, Louis Kronheim had moved from the more rural Samotschin to the more urban Schneidemuhl, approximately thirty eight kilometers north of Samotschin. Initially Kronheim rented a home from Gustav Westphal, the owner of a bakery and later lived on Kleine Kirchenstrasse, a fashionable street in the heart of Schneidemuhl.⁵ The authorities from the

³ Photo of Gravestone of Louis Kronheim taken in 1935, found at page 282, Peter Simonstein Cullman. *History of the Jewish Community of Schneidemuhl: 1641 to the Holocaust*. Avotaynu Inc., Bergenfield New Jersey, 2006. The cemetery was destroyed by the Germans in 1939 when the graves were obliterated and the gravestones demolished or stolen. Cullman, *History of the Jewish Community of Schneidemuhl*, p. 311

⁴ Cullman, *History of the Jewish Community of Schneidemuhl*, p.116.

⁵ Postcard of Kleine Kirchenstrasse, reproduced by the Museum Okregowe im Stanislaw Staszica Pila in what is now called "Pila" but was formerly called "Schneidemuhl".



A fashionable street in the heart of Schneidemühl, 1900

museum in Pila,⁶ (formerly Schneidemühl) attempted to trace the lifeline of Louis Kronheim, but could find no trace of him in Schneidemühl from 1897 to 1914. He probably lived in Berlin during this period of his life in an apartment at Albrechtstrasse 16, but also owned a large commercial and residential building in the heart of the city at the corner of Lietzenburger Strasse and Joachimstaller Strasse.⁷ Later, he moved between Berlin and Schneidemühl, three hundred and ten kilometers east of Berlin.

⁶ Schneidemühl belonged to the Prussian empire until the end of World 1 when it was returned to Poland and renamed "Pila". Interview of Director Ziemowit Niedzwiecki and Historian Marek Fijalkowski of the Okregowe im Stanislaw Staszica Pila Museum. Interview arranged by Jakub Lysiak, General Tour Manager of the Taube Jewish Heritage Tours. Appreciation to Ellen Leibenluft who took notes of all interviews conducted in Poland. May, 2016.

⁷ 21 Joachimstaller Strasse was a three story building with the first floor filled with fashionable stores, the second floor occupied by medical clinics, while the third floor was given over to large elegant apartments.



Building owned by Louis Kronheim at 21 Joachimstaller Strasse, Berlin, 2017,
with his great great granddaughter Rebecca Wolff (daughter of Miriam Daniel)

Louis Kronheim, even in death, was in full control. He died in Berlin of a heart attack on January 29, 1921 at age 66. His body was moved from Berlin, on the first of February at 2 pm to Schneidemuhl, with the funeral in Schneidemuhl scheduled at the “Israelite cemetery” for the 3rd of February at 2 pm in the afternoon. The death notice published in the *Berliner Tageblatt* and the Samotchin newspaper requested that “no visits of condolences be made nor that any wreaths be sent.” It closed as follows: “The deceased had been a noble friend, a counsel of rare kindness of heart and helpfulness, one whom we shall remember with honor.”⁸

In his Will, Louis Kronheim, not only left substantial cash to his four surviving children, but also demonstrated a selfless commitment to those who had worked for him and to the Jewish community. To Miss Bianca Scheyer, the governess who brought up his children after his wife died, he set aside a generous annuity to be distributed semi-annually, with the choice of an immediate cash payout, and also bequeathed to her the furniture of her bedroom from the family home plus whatever furniture she might need to enter an old age home. He left bequests to both

⁸ Funeral notice printed in Cullman, *History of the Jewish Community of Schneidemuhl*, p. 302.

the Congregation of the Synagogue in Schneidemuehl and to the Central Agency of German Citizens of the Jewish faith in Berlin.⁹

However, most impressive and noteworthy of all was Kronheim's enduring commitment to family as expressed in his Will below:

In order to keep up the family spirit after my death, I designate the sum of thirty thousand Mark to be invested in a savings account, the interest of this capital to be distributed among the indigent when they are in need, members of the family or outsiders. It is my desire that the family, if possible every year, but not less than every three years, calls for a meeting of its members to exchange ideas and stimulate new approaches for the benefit of the individual members of the family. The members of my family as well as those of my late wife's shall be invited.¹⁰

He also provided substantial gifts to his late wife's family. A letter from a family member of his late wife characterized Kronheim as Royal Counselor (*Geheimrat*) to the Prussian King, and reported that "Louis Kronheim gave a nedunia (wedding present) to all the Pincus girls (the daughters of his late wife's sister) so that we (their children) could be born on white sheets." ¹¹ At that time, sleeping on white sheets was a mark of prosperity.

Louis Kronheim was married to Jenny Kronheim, born in 1860, the daughter of Lina and Pinchas Cohn. Jenny died suddenly at age 39 from a heart attack or stroke on February 17, 1899. She and Louis had five children, all of them born in Samotchin, and all raised by their governess, Bianca Scheyer. When the Kronheim children turned six or seven, they were sent to study in Bromberg, seven kilometers from Samotschin, as Samotschin had no schools. Samotschin was located in the province of Posen, in what was then Prussia. It had been acquired by Germany in the second Polish Partition of 1793. Located in the German-Polish border region of Silesia and East Prussia, the area was returned to Poland by the Versailles Treaty in 1920 after World War I.

In his childhood memories from Samotschin, Ernst Toller, one of the leaders of the Munich Soviet Republic¹² and a leading left wing intellectual of the time, vividly described the relationship between Germans, Jews and Poles in this part of the province of Posen. Toller was born in 1893 in Samotschin, only five years after Wally Daniel. "Samotschin was a German

⁹ Will of Louis Kronheim, opened February 10, 1921 in the Lower Court of Schneidemuehl. Kronheim's Will was found in the Archives of the United States, included with other documents supporting a 1963 claim by the Daniel family for the Pinsk Estate mortgage, to the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States, pursuant to the Polish Claims Agreement of 1960.

¹⁰ See Will of Louis Kronheim.

¹¹ "Family Tree –Pincus" Shlomo Erol (Sieghusch Ehrlich), Tel Aviv, February 25, 1976. The son of Regina Pincus Ehrlich, who was first cousin to Emil Kronheim (son of Louis Kronheim) reported this story in his *Family Tree*.

¹² At the end of World War 1, the Munich Soviet Republic replaced Germany's Imperial government with a republic. That revolutionary period lasted from November 1918 until the establishment, in August 1919, of a republic that later became known as the Weimar Republic.

city,” he writes. “On this Protestants and Jews were equally proud. They spoke with obvious contempt of the cities of the province of Posen, where Poles and Catholics were thrown into the same pot. In all the fighting against the Poles, Jews and Germans were a (united) front. On the Emperor's birthday, the Jews sat with the reserve officers, the Veterans' Association and the rifle club at a table drinking beer and liquor and praised Kaiser Wilhelm.” But Toller also describes “the still virulent anti-Semitism of the Poles and the Germans, in this province of the Great Empire.”¹³

Louis Kronheim was a poster boy for his times. He rode the wave of liberal acceptance of the Jews in Europe, an idea that had been imported by Napoleon, and died before the onset of the Nazi nightmare. Jews had arrived in large numbers in Poland by the 1500's fleeing the anti-Semitism of the Crusades and the Inquisition. At that time, Poland was the safest country for Jews in Europe.

By 1795, Poland ceased to exist as a political entity, having been divided among Prussia, Austria and Russia. Both Schneidemuhl (previously known as Pyla) and Samotschin became part of Prussia. German became the national language and German settlers moved to the area. Napoleon's defeat of Prussia brought the Jews some measure of equal rights but these gains were curtailed following Napoleon's final defeat. Although Jews were to be allowed for the first time to own property, to settle where they wished, and to choose any profession, the emancipation process would in reality benefit only the wealthy.¹⁴ By the 1850's, many Jews left the provincial Schneidemuhl and emigrated to Berlin.¹⁵ By 1870, with full industrialization, Jews moved up from being peddlers to become middle class businessmen and merchants. Jews could now be bankers, manufacturers or landed gentry and often joined the Prussian military.¹⁶ The children of middle class Jews completed the gymnasium and studied medicine, physics and the law. Strict Jewish custom was replaced in many cases by Reform Judaism.

After World War 1, Louis Kronheim and Benno Kaliski, partners in Kronheim –Kaliski, purchased the Pinsk Manor Estate in Szubin.¹⁷ Szubin was a small town seventy eight kilometers east of Schneidemuhl. The estate, built by Polish nobles in the 1500's, is still preserved today as a massive neoclassical building, rebuilt around 1870 with a 19th century 9.5 acre landscaped

¹³ Inge Grolle/Christine Igla, Editors, *Stolpersteine in Hamburg Grindel 1 Hallerstrasse und Brahmsallee. Biographische Spurensuche, (Stumbling Stones in Hamburg Grindel 1-Hallerstrasse and Brahmsallee, Biographies Researched)*, Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung, Hamburg 2016: Bruno Lowitsch “Stumbling Stone Biographies of Max and Wally Daniel”, page 92. Lowitsch who prepared the biographies of Max and Wally Daniel, discovered and described the connection between the renowned Ernst Toller and Wally Daniel.

¹⁴ Cullman, *History of the Jewish Community of Schneidemuhl*, p. 51.

¹⁵ Cullman, *History of the Jewish Community of Schneidemuhl*, p.75.

¹⁶ Cullman, *History of the Jewish Community of Schneidemuhl*, p.80 and 106.

¹⁷ The estate was located with some difficulty by Jakub Lysiak, General Tour Manager of the Taube Jewish Heritage Tours, a Polish national based in Warsaw, who also identified Artur, a young man living in the area, who had studied the history of the Pinsk estate.

park.¹⁸ Louis Kronheim purchased the estate from the previous owner Richard Kiehn, who had been educated in German schools and had married in 1896 in Berlin. After Germany's defeat in World War 1, Kiehn sold the Pinsk Manor Estate to Kronheim – Kaliski, who were characterized as speculators in a Polish reference book describing the history of estates in the area of Szubin.¹⁹ The Pinsk estate would have decreased in value to its German owner with the anticipated return of Szubin to Polish control.



Artur Szymon Przemorski, (local historian), Miriam Daniel, and Jakub Lysiak (tour guide), Pinsk Estate, May 2016

In early 1920, Kronheim, probably anticipating the anti Semitic and anti Germanic feelings of the Poles, sold Pinsk to Wacław Von Żaluzki, director of a bank in Pinsk, and, as balance of the purchase price, took back a mortgage of one million marks.²⁰

¹⁸ Stawomir Laniecki, *Nadnoteckie Palace Dwory Folwarki*, (Palaces, Farms and Estates in Krajny and Paluk) Sepolno Krajenskie – Naklonad Noticia, 2010. “*Pinsko*” pages 189 – 205. (Written with support from the European Union). The estate had over 536 acres of arable land and 307 acres of pasture land while a significant proportion of land, 766 acres, was occupied by wooded areas. It included stables with 69 horses, more than 400 cattle and 90 dairy cows and also a large alcohol refinery. Over 50 families lived on the estate, employed in raising agricultural products, and management of dairy cows and other livestock.

¹⁹ Laniecki, *Nadnoteckie Palace Dwory Folwarki Kranjny I Paluk*, p.198.

²⁰ During the 40's, William Daniel, the brother of Gerard Daniel, asked the State Department to help him reclaim his interest in the mortgage created in favor of Louis Kronheim when he sold Pinsk. The American Consulate in Gdansk on February 14, 1947 wrote to the Starost Powiatowy (District Office) of Szubin inquiring about the mortgage to Pinsk. The District Office wrote back to the American Consulate confirming the existence of the mortgage of one million marks, as balance of purchase price, plus 5% interest but informing the American authorities that “in connection with the agrarian reform, this property has been taken over by the Government and effective August 12, 1946, ...due to the fact that its title has been transferred to the State Treasury, all mortgage liabilities on this property have been deleted.”

The defeat of the Kaiser at the end of World War 1 meant that once again this area would return to Polish control. The Treaty of Versailles in 1920 resulted in the loss of 13% of Germany's eastern territory, as Germany was deprived of the Polish corridor. In 1919, Szubin became part of Poland. Most of the Germans in the area left, with perhaps one third of the population remaining German. During the 1920's, right wing activities and anti-Semitism began to once again simmer in both Szubin and Schneidemuhl. Prior to World War 1, the Prussians had already liquidated the Jewish schools in the area, forcing Jewish children to choose between Polish and German schools.²¹ In the 20's and 30's, there was a boycott of Jewish products by right wingers, although those who lived in Szubin did not participate in the boycott.²²

Waclaw Von Zaluski and his wife Anna, lived on the Pinsk estate until it was nationalized in 1946. Zaluski died in 1938. Anna spent a lifetime making unsuccessful claims to the Polish government for return of the property.²³ After the communists nationalized the estate and evicted the Zaluskis, it was rented out by the government but, because there were insufficient funds to maintain the estate, it is now derelict and vacant. The Daniel Family claim to the mortgage, made in the 60's, was denied.²⁴



Interior of Pinsk Estate, May 2016

²¹ The majority of Jews chose the German schools, in part because of their knowledge of Yiddish which resembled German. Interview with mgr Mgr. Rzeszowski, Dyrektor Rejonowej Biblioteki Publicznej w Szubinie (Director of Library of Szubin), arranged by tour guide Jakub Lysiak. May, 2016

²² Ibid.

²³ Interview with Artur Szymon Przemorski, local historian of Pinsk estate, arranged by tour guide Jakub Lysiak. May, 2016.

²⁴ In 1963, the heirs of Louis Kronheim, including Ella Mislowitzer and Dr. Emil Kronheim (children of Louis Kronheim), and William and Gerard Daniel (grandchildren of Louis Kronheim), made a claim for return of the value of the Pinsk mortgage to the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, pursuant to the Polish Claims Agreement of 1960. The claim was denied because, according to the Commission, the devaluation of the zloty in 1924 had rendered the mortgage worthless when the property was nationalized in 1946.

The next generation, the five children born to Louis and Jenny Kronheim in Samotschin, experienced the full weight of the devastating years that followed Louis Kronheim's death. Gotthold, born July 25, 1889, died November 19, 1917 in France at age 28 during the First World War, while serving in the German army. Seigbert, born May 4, 1886, a lawyer in Berlin, perished in Terezin on January 26, 1943 while his wife, Margaret, died in Auschwitz in 1944. They had no children. Seigbert's attorney, Heinz Eckert, in December of 1959 requested reparations for the value of the mortgage payments due to Seigbert from the Pinsk estate which Seigbert had been forced to renounce for minimal value when he was deported to Terezin.²⁵

Emil, born February 25, 1891, a physician, studied in Berlin, returning to Schneidemuhl to become one of the most popular family doctors in the town. He emigrated around 1935²⁶ with his wife and two children, Ludwig and Gunther, to New York City where he was once again able to practice medicine, living in a large elegant apartment on the West Side of the city.²⁷ Ludwig (known as Luddy) and Gunther (known as Gunny) both served in the United States Army during World War Two. Emil died in New York in 1975.

Ella, born July 10, 1892, married Dr. Eduard Mislowitzer in Berlin, where their daughter Renee, who suffered from epilepsy, was born. They emigrated to New York City in the late 30's, sponsored by Ella's brother Emil.



Max Daniel

Wally, born May 20, 1888, the mother of Gerard Daniel and the grandmother of Miriam Daniel, married Max Daniel in Hamburg

²⁵ The claim was denied.

²⁶ Emil's name was listed in a 1940 Census in the United States. Emil gave up his claim to the building owned by Louis Kronheim in Berlin in exchange for cash from his siblings for his emigration.

²⁷ Miriam Daniel remembers family seders in the 50's at the elegant apartment where long corridors were lined with oriental rugs.

in 1910.²⁸ The two had met in Bad Kissingen, a resort popular with German Jews and Russians. The marriage was arranged, as was typical of the times. Wally had attended school in Bydgoszcz (formerly Bromberg) and Berlin. With her sister Ella she studied languages and literature. In short intervals the couple bore three sons in Hamburg: William (1911), Norbert (1914) and Gerard (1916).



Young William, Norbert and Gerard

Max was born February 29, 1879 in Rawitsch,²⁹ in the western part of the former Prussian province of Posen. In the early 1900's Max Daniel travelled as a young man to the West (Germany) and after an apprenticeship in Hildesheim or perhaps Halberstadt, moved to Hamburg to build a career as a banker.³⁰ He was an observant Orthodox Jew, visiting the synagogue on a daily basis and closely following the rules of kashrut.

²⁸ We have an exceptionally good understanding of the lives of Max and Wally Daniel because of the exhaustive and excellent biographies researched and compiled by Bruno Lowitsch. Lowitsch researched the Daniels' lives as part of the "Stolpersteine" Stumbling Stones project. The project originated in Germany in 1995 when a local artist commemorated victims of the German Nazi regime by laying small concrete cubes outside the houses where the victims had lived or worked. Attached to the concrete cubes was a bronze plaque with the engraved biographical data of the Nazi's victims. The Stumbling Stone project was brought to Hamburg in 2002 and today there are more than 5,000 stones in the sidewalks of Hamburg, including two for Max and Wally Daniel. In Hamburg, written biographies of the victims of the Nazi regime, for whom Stumbling Stones had been created, have been prepared and compiled into books, organized by neighborhood such as this one about the Jews of Grindel. Inge Grolle/Christine Igl, Editors, *Stolpersteine in Hamburg Grindel 1 Hallerstrasse und Brahmsallee. Biographische Spurensuche*, (*Stumbling Stones in Hamburg Grindel 1-Hallerstrasse and Brahmsallee, Biographies Researched*), Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung, Hamburg 2016; Bruno Lowitsch "Stumbling Stone biographies of Max and Wally Daniel" pages 91-96.

²⁹ Rawitsch is on the trade route and the railway line from Poznan to Breslau. His mother's German name "Neustadt" appeared there before 1800 in the Jewish community.

³⁰ In the Hamburg address books, Max's name with the words "banking business" appears for the first time in 1902. He was then 23 years old. His first business address was on Hamburg's Kaiser Wilhelm Str #16; After several moves - Max Daniel moved again on Kaiser Wilhelm Strasse #76. The "Daniel" bank remained there until 1928/29. Max Lowitsch, *Stolpersteine in Hamburg* at 93.

In his private bank Max Daniel specialized in trading bonds. As a specialist in currency and the stock exchange and a member of the exchange, he had private clients among industrialists, merchants and banks, including the banking firm Warburg.³¹ Many of his clients came from the East, from where he had also come.

Max Daniel's business employed over a dozen employees intermittently. During the great inflation of 1923 and the economic crisis in the late 20s, including the devaluation of the French franc, his business shrank, but he survived the crisis well overall. In 1930, he gave up the currency and stock side of his business and concentrated on the repurchase of bonds for large companies through Dutch banks and institutions. He had kept most of his money abroad in Holland but brought it all back to Germany in 1935, when the German government threatened execution of any Germans who did not repatriate their monies from abroad.

Max Daniel and his family lived most of their lives in the Grindel quarter of Hamburg. From 1920 to 1935 the family remained at Hansastrasse# 65.³² In 1935 the family and office moved to a stately seven room apartment at Hallerstrasse #72. They remained there until late 1939. This was followed by their move (the children had already emigrated) to become lodgers at the home of the widow Biram, in a 3 room apartment in Hallerstrasse.³³ Max and Wally took great solace in their final location in Hamburg, sharing their rooms with the well respected and beloved Chief Rabbi of Hamburg, Josef Carlebach and his family.³⁴

Relations between Max Daniel and Louis Kronheim became strained in 1914 at the start of World War 1 when Max asked Louis to help keep him out of the army by securing for him an administrative job in the North. Louis did procure a job for Max related to the storage of wood, but Louis, who was a very patriotic German, did not forget or forgive Max his lack of patriotism.³⁵

Wally was a warm-hearted, musical and socially engaged woman.³⁶ She worked with the board of the Hamburg Jewish community, the parents' association of the Talmud Torah School and the board of the Jewish Old Age Home. She loved to visit downtown Hamburg to shop and see the museums and, before Gerard started school, often took him with her, spending hours sitting and talking with him.

³¹ Max Daniel was a nervous investor, coming home in the evenings to listen to the radio to learn whether his stocks had gone up or down. Memories of Gerard Daniel.

³² From 1931, as a result of the global economic crisis, Max Daniel closed his office at the Kaiser Wilhelm Strasse, and established offices in the large apartment in Hansastrasse. According to the Hamburg address book, Max conducted a "banking business" until 1939 under his name. Max Lowitsch, *Stolpersteine in Hamburg* at 93.

³³ This last apartment no longer appears in the Hamburg address book. Max Lowitsch, *Stolpersteine in Hamburg* at 94.

³⁴ Memories of Gerard Daniel.

³⁵ Memories of Gerard Daniel.

³⁶ Memories of Gerard Daniel.

The family suffered a heavy blow in 1932 when their middle son Norbert died from leukemia. He had just graduated from the Talmud Torah high school and had begun to study literature and medicine. Norbert was a prodigy who at age 15 wrote essays, critiques and book reviews in the leading German newspapers including the *Berliner Abendblatt* and the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*. Norbert's work came to the attention of Germany's leading writers of the day including Stefan Zweig. Just before Norbert fell ill, Zweig had invited him to visit in Salzburg for a two week stay. After learning of Norbert's death, on July 16, 1932, Stefan Zweig wrote William Daniel a moving letter of condolence.

...Your kind letter has touched me very much and I am saddened, as you are, by this senseless loss. As consolation, one can only imagine that this young man, so talented and valuable a human being, with his sights set to the sky, would have suffered much in these times, and would have had to fight fiercely and perhaps in vain for his ideals....



Unknown, Georg Brueh, and Gerard Daniel in Blankenese (Hamburg), 1935

William and Gerard also attended the Talmud Torah School. In 1936, at age 19, Gerard, emigrated from Hamburg to Palestine, just weeks after his graduation from secondary school (Abitur). From an early age Gerard was attracted to Palestine, joining at age 12 the Mizrahi, a Zionist youth group, which became the cherished center of his social life.³⁷ His father, Max, strongly objected to his son's identification with the Zionist group. He wanted Gerard to stay in Germany and in 1936 arranged for Max Warburg, a giant in the banking industry, to interview Gerard for a job. Warburg did offer Gerard an apprenticeship in Germany to be followed by work in Holland. Gerard refused because he did not want to stay in Germany.³⁸ In Tel Aviv he

³⁷ Max, like most orthodox Jews, did not believe in the Zionist dream of the Jews return to Palestine.

³⁸ Had Gerard taken the job with Warburg, he would not have survived as the Dutch worked closely with the Nazis, killing 85% of the Jews in Holland.

started work as a clerk at the Belgo-Palestine Bank, but lost his job at the bank in 1940 because of the war, and thereafter earned a thriving livelihood, among other things, in salvage goods.

Gerard's parents, Max and Wally Daniel, visited him in Palestine in 1938.³⁹ Despite Gerard's strong urgings to them to remain in Palestine, they returned to Germany with Max convinced that the free world would not tolerate Hitler's crimes.⁴⁰ On June 21, 1938, Max Daniel's company was deleted from the list of members to the Hanseatic Stock Exchange because "the company (Max Daniel) had not adopted the proposal of the Reich Minister of Economics, 20 June 1938, to be represented by a non- Jewish attorney or agent in the stock market."⁴¹

On December 28, 1938 the company was deleted from the Commercial Register. "On October 28, 1938 the OFP issued a "security arrangement" with Max Daniel. Reason: Mr. Max Daniel is a Jew. It is expected that he will emigrate in the near future. According to recent experience, it is therefore necessary to provide for legal disposition of his property." As part of this plunder he had to sell all his property in Zeughausstrasse 49/52, below its value. The proceeds were less than the "Jewish capital tax", which he had paid.⁴² The same happened to Wally Daniel with her

shares in the large apartment building on Joachimsthaler Strasse in Berlin.⁴³



Gerard, Ruth and friends on the Tel Aviv beach, 1939

In 1941 in Palestine, Gerard married Ruth Feilchenfeld, who had emigrated at age 10, with her family, from Berlin to Tel Aviv in 1933. They had two children, Ralph and Miriam, in 1944 and 1947. In 1947, shortly before the proclamation of the State of Israel, Gerard moved to Paris and then, two years later, with his family,

to the United States, where he initially worked as a clerk and now lives in Sarasota and Washington D.C. He is still closely tied to Israel. In 1990, he built a major Reform synagogue in

³⁹ Max and Wally Daniel visited Palestine in 1938 sometime before Kristallnacht on November 9, 1938.

⁴⁰ The high point of Max's trip was a visit to pray at the Kotel in Jerusalem.

⁴¹ Correspondence between William Daniel and the Council for Compensation Claims, Hamburg Dammthorstrasse, on December 12, 1946, in which William sought restitution for the loss of his father's business. On August 30, 1961 the President and General Counsel of the Members of the Stock Exchange in Hamburg wrote back to William Daniel stating that in the year 1938, Max Daniel was deleted from the Hanseatic Stock Exchange because of his failure to be represented by a non Jewish agent or attorney. Max Lowitsch, *Stolpersteine in Hamburg* at 95.

⁴² Max Lowitsch, *Stolpersteine in Hamburg* at 96.

⁴³ The building was returned to Wally's children, Gerard and William Daniel, and to her sister, Ella Mislowitzer in the late 50's. It was sold a year later at a depressed value in view of Kruschew's threats to isolate Berlin. The physician who purchased the building later sold it to I.G.Metal, the German Metal Union, for their headquarters.

Tel Aviv, Beit Daniel, and in 2005, he built a center for Jewish-Arab cooperation in Jaffa, which bears the name of his late wife Ruth, Mishkenot Ruth Daniel.

William, the eldest son, apprenticed at a friend's company (Gotthold) in the metal business and the scrap trade. In 1937 he was able to emigrate to the USA. In January 1941 he tried to respond to cables for help from his father, to gain a visa to Cuba for his parents. Although William was able to purchase the visa to Cuba, it was too late to obtain an exit visa from Germany for his parents because the Nazi government had already started the systematic deportation of German Jews for the "Final Solution".

Gerard Daniel wrote that "despite many reminders that my parents (should) leave Germany, they did not believe the Nazi government had longevity and preferred to stay in Hamburg," ⁴⁴ Many Jews in Hamburg probably had an optimistic impression of being treated less aggressively than their fellow Jews in the rest of the German Reich.⁴⁵ This statement corresponds with studies of Frank Bajohr.⁴⁶ In the 1920's "strong boundaries between (the) Jewish and non-Jewish population in Hamburg had vanished." The sons lost their confidence in this development faster than their parents when they were cut off from the future by having to leave the public schools and when they were no longer admitted to the university. ⁴⁷ The parents only became aware and really felt the brutality of the plunder leading up to the Nazi killing, when the National Socialist policy ran its full course. And then it was already too late.

Max and Wally Daniel were among the 1034 people in the first great (large) deportation of the Jews of Hamburg which took place on October 25, 1941. ⁴⁸ On the way to Lodz (where in a short period almost all were killed or died), the train passed through the western part of the former Prussian province of Posen, from which the couple came.

Life in Lodz was very difficult. The inhabitants of the Lodz ghetto, established in February 8, 1940, were for the most part poor people who had always lived in hard conditions. There was almost no sewage treatment in the ghetto, with only 3% of the homes having bathrooms; nor was there running water. Food was very scarce. For older deportees sent to Lodz, like Max and Wally, life was especially difficult. Not part of a community that supported its members, unable to speak the Yiddish of the ghetto but only speaking German, they had no chance at survival. They would not have been able to find work and thus would have had no money to buy food. They could have sold their clothing but this source of funds would have quickly run out. ⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Gerard Daniel in correspondence with Bruno Lowitsch, 2012.

⁴⁵ Miriam Daniel in correspondence with Bruno Lowitsch, 2012.

⁴⁶ Linearization in Hamburg. Displacement of Jewish Entrepreneurs 1933 to 1945. Hamburg 1997. Max Lowitsch, *Stolpersteine in Hamburg* at 95.

⁴⁷ Max Lowitsch, *Stolpersteine in Hamburg* at 95.

⁴⁸ List of deportees from Hamburg from the Archives of Lodz provided by Milena Wicepolska, the Lodz Tour Guide arranged for by Jakub Lysiak.

⁴⁹ Interview with Milena Wicepolska, Lodz tour guide. May, 2016.

On arrival in Lodz, Max and Wally were transported from the train station to an arrival site where they were given a ghetto address. Max and Wally lived for 8 months on Kelmstrasse #73 (now Mayinnska), an area where the poor Jews lived. On August 20, 1942, their living conditions further declined as they were moved to Gnessen #26 (today Guiezchievista), a home for elderly Jews from Western and Central Europe. Max died August 23, 1942, two days after being moved to the home for the elderly. He was 62 years old. Wally survived him by five months, and died on December 4, 1942 at age 54.⁵⁰

43,527 ghetto residents are buried in the “Ghetto Field” at the Lodz cemetery. They are buried for the most part without gravestones and with no identifying markings. Three hundred of these souls do have marked gravestones, identifying who they once were. In 1990 Gerard and his wife Ruth travelled to Poland to visit Lodz to search for traces of his parents. They learned where Max was buried and Gerard arranged to have a memorial placed on that site. In May of 2016, in the midst of a large green field, Miriam Daniel and her husband, Laurence Wolff, found the memorial to Wally and Max that had been placed at Wally’s grave site.⁵¹ The exquisite carved stone, with birth and death dates, memorializes the lives of Wally Daniel Nee Kronheim and Max Daniel.



Miriam Daniel and Larry Wolff at the gravestone of Max and Wally Daniel in the Ghetto Field at Lodz Cemetery. May, 2016

⁵⁰ Written record of the Movement of the Older Jews in Lodz prepared by the Ghetto Authorities. These Registration Cards were located by Milena Wicypolska. May, 2016.

⁵¹ Grave Section L – VII, Row 3, Grave 82, side L. May, 2016.